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AMCONSUL CHENGDU

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 BEIJING 029707

DEPT PASS TO HOUSE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: OREP, PREL, PARM, PHUM, CH

SUBJECT: CODEL GLICKMAN AUGUST 17 MEETING WITH CHINESE

FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN QICHEN

- 1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.
- 2. SUMMARY: HUMAN RIGHTS AND NONPROLIFERATION FIGURED PROMINENTLY IN THE AUGUST 17 MEETING BETWEEN A CODEL LED BY HOUSE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN DAN GLICKMAN (D-KS) AND CHINESE VICE PREMIER AND FOREIGN CONFIDENTIAL

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MINISTER QIAN QICHEN. THE CODEL MADE IT CLEAR THE
U.S. WOULD NOT CHANGE ITS CONCERN WITH HUMAN RIGHTS,
AND CHINA COULD HELP DEFUSE THIS ISSUE BY TAKING
CONCRETE STEPS, SUCH AS ALLOWING THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS OR OTHER HUMANITARIAN
ORGANIZATIONS TO VISIT CHINESE PRISONS. THE CODEL
ALSO STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF NONPROLIFERATION IN
THE CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, POINTING OUT
THAT WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY TRANSFERS, SUCH AS CHINA'S
REPORTED SALE OF M-11 MISSILES TO PAKISTAN, WERE IN
NEITHER THE U.S. NOR CHINA'S INTERESTS.

3. ON NORTH KOREA, THE FOREIGN MINISTER ASSURED THE CODEL THAT CHINA WOULD NOT PROVIDE ANY NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY TO NORTH KOREA AND THAT I'T WAS

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"UNTHINKABLE" FOR NUCLEAR WESPONS TO EXIST ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA. LIKE OTHER CHINESE OFFICIALS MEETING WITH CODELS DURING THE PAST WEEK, THE FOREIGN MINISTER RAISED THE MUCH-PUBLICIZED "YIN HE" INCIDENT, THE CHINESE SHIP THE U.S. SUSPECTS IS CARRYING CHEMICAL WEAPON PRECURSORS TO IRAN, STATING THAT CHINA WAS NOT AFRAID OF AN INSPECTION OF THE SHIP'S CARGO AS U.S. INTELLIGENCE ON THE "YIN HE" WAS INACCURATE. HE SAID THE RESULTS OF THE INSPECTION WOULD PUT THE U.S. IN AN "AWKWARD" POSITION. END SUMMARY.

4. A CODEL LED BY HOUSE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN REP. DAN GLICKMAN (D-KS), AND INCLUDING REP. JAMES BILBRAY (D-NV), REP. NORMAN DICKS (D-NM), REP. NANCY PELOSI (D-CA) AND REP. RICHARD DURBIN (D-IL), THEIR SPOUSES AND STAFF, THE AMBASSADOR, EMBOFF CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 BEIJIN 29707 01 OF 04 191029Z (NOTETAKER) AND EMBASSY INTERPRETER MET AUGUST 17 WITH CHINESE VICE PREMIER AND FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN QICHEN, WHO WAS ACCOMPANIED BY MEMBERS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (HOST), INCLUDING THE ORGANIZATION'S PRESIDENT, LIU SHUQING.

# U.S.- CHINA RELATIONS

- 5. REP. GLICKMAN BEGAN BY INTRODUCING HIMSELF AND THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE CODEL, ALL MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE "LOOKING AT THE WORLD IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA" ON A TRIP THAT ALSO INCLUDED JAPAN. KOREA AND HONG KONG. MAKING THE POINT THAT ASIA DESERVED CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION FROM THE U.S. BECAUSE OF ITS INCREASING IMPORTANCE, ECONOMICALLY AND POLITICALLY, REP. GLICKMAN BRIEFLY APPRECIATED THE STRENGTHENING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS WHICH HAD HELPED ACCELERATE THE END OF THE COLD WAR. DESPITE THIS RELATIONSHIP, THERE WERE SEVERAL AREAS OF CONCERN. HOWEVER, REP. GLICKMAN BELIEVED THAT, WITH "PROPER AND HONEST" DIALOGUE, CHINA AND THE U.S. COULD WORK THROUGH THEIR DIFFERENCES AND BUILD ON THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP TO BENEFIT BOTH THE AMERICAN AND CHINESE PEOPLE.
- 6. QIAN REPLIED THAT ALL THE CODELS VISITING CHINA AT THIS TIME WERE RAISING THE SAME CONCERNS AND HE WAS NATURALLY VERY MUCH AWARE OF THESE ISSUES. HE SAID HE CONFIDENTIAL

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BEIJIN 29707 01 OF 04 191029Z PAGE 04 AGREED WITH GLICKMAN THAT THE U.S.-CHINA RELATIONSHIP WAS IMPROVING AND SHOULD BECOME SOUND AND HEALTHY BECAUSE THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION, IN THE POST COLD WAR, WAS THE FASTEST DEVELOPING REGION IN THE WORLD. QIAN ADMITTED THAT PROBLEMS COULD NOT ALWAYS BE AVOIDED IN RELATIONS BETWEEN COUNTRIES. ALTHOUGH IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO REMOVE ALL THESE PROBLEMS, QIAN HOPED THAT THE US. AND CHINA WERE MOVING TOWARD MINIMIZING THEIR DIFFERENCES AND THAT THE U.S. CONGRESS WOULD TRY TO UNDERSTAND CHINA. HE SAID THAT SOME CONGRESSMAN "STILL CREATE DIFFICULTIES, " AND CREATE DIFFICULTIES FOR THE USG AS WELL AS FOR CHINA. HE CITED THE RECENT MURKOWSKI AMENDMENT SUBORDINATING THE AUGUST 17 COMMUNIQUE TO THE TAIWAN RELATIONS ACT AND THE HOUSE RESOLUTION THAT "INTERFERED" WITH THE OLYMPIC COMMITTEE'S UPCOMING DECISION ON WHERE TO HOLD THE 2000 OLYMPICS AS EXAMPLES OF "CREATING DIFFICULTIES".

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R 191028Z AUG 93
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AMCONSUL SHENYANG
AMCONSUL SHANGHAI
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMCONSUL CHENGDU

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7. REP. GLICKMAN REPLIED THAT THE POINT QIAN HAD JUST MADE ABOUT "DIFFICULTIES" WITH CONGRESS ILLUSTRATED THAT OUR SYSTEM OF SEPARATION OF POWERS DID NOT NECESSARILY PERMIT "NEATNESS" IN CARRYING OUT CONGRESS' WORK. HE WAS SURE QIAN WAS AWARE OF THIS. IN THIS CONTEXT, REP. DICKS COMMENTED THAT, ALTHOUGH CONFIDENTIAL

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THE POINTS OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND CHINA WERE VERY SIGNIFICANT, WHEN TAKEN IN THE BROADER CONTEXT, THE PRESENT SITUATION

WAS FAR BETTER THAN FORMERLY WHEN THE WORLD WAS CONSUMED BY FEAR OF A U.S.-SOVIET NUCLEAR CONFRONTATION. REP. DICKS SAID HE HAD JUST BEEN TO KOREA AND WAS VERY MUCH AWARE OF CHINA'S CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN HELPING THE U.S. AND THE REGION DEAL WITH THE DIFFICULT NORTH KOREAN NUCLEAR ISSUE.

8. QIAN REPLIED THAT HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES, BECAUSE OF THEIR EXPERIENCE IN DEALING WITH AMERICANS AND U.S. ISSUES, COULD FULLY APPRECIATE THE AMERICAN POLICY PROCESS. HOWEVER, HE FEARED THE ORDINARY CHINESE WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND THIS POINT, JUST AS THE ORDINARY AMERICAN DID NOT UNDERSTAND CHINA. QIAN SAID THE U.S. AND CHINA HAD HAD VASTLY DIFFERENT TRADITIONS, LEADING TO DIFFERENT NATIONAL CONDITIONS, AND BOTH GOVERNMENTS HAD TO FACE THAT REALITY. THEREFORE, OUR TWO COUNTRIES MUST INCREASE MUTUAL CONFIDENCE AND LEARN FROM EACH OTHER. HOWEVER, IT WAS "IMPOSSIBLE TO SPEAK THE SAME LANGUAGE."

# HUMAN RIGHTS

9. HUMAN RIGHTS FIGURED PROMINENTLY IN THE CODEL'S MEETING WITH QIAN. REP. GLICKMAN RAISED THE ISSUE IN HIS OPENING COMMENTS BY SINGLING OUT HUMAN RIGHTS AS ONE OF THE IMPORTANT AREAS OF DISPUTE BETWEEN THE U.S. CONFIDENTIAL

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AND CHINA. HE UNDERLINED THE STRONG BELIEF OF THE

AMERICAN PEOPLE AND OF CONGRESS THAT ALL COUNTRIES

MUST ADHERE TO INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS OF HUMAN

RIGHTS. REP. BILBRAY POINTED OUT THAT, ON THE

QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, THE U.S. WOULD EVEN GO

AGAINST ITS OWN SELF INTEREST BECAUSE WE CARED FOR OUR

FELLOW HUMAN BEINGS ALL OVER THE WORLD. SAYING THAT

THIS WAS WHAT MADE US AMERICANS, REP. BILBRAY

CAUTIONED THAT WE COULDN'T CHANGE THIS CHARACTERISTIC

ANYMORE THAN THE CHINESE COULD CHANGE BEING CHINESE.

WE HAD TO FOLLOW OUR CONSCIENCES EVEN IF THE CHINESE

DIDN'T WANT US TO.

10. REP. PELOSI COMMENTED TO QIAN THAT SINCE SEEING HIM LAST, THE U.S. HAD A NEW ADMINISTRATION WHICH HAD MANAGED TO WORK WITH CONGRESS TO ACHIEVE AN EXTENSION OF MFN PRIVILEGES TO CHINA. NOW, THE PRESIDENT NEEDS HELP FROM EVERYONE IN TRYING TO MAINTAIN A MODERATE POLICY ON CHINA. IN THIS REGARD, CHINA COULD HELP MODERATE AMERICAN VIEWS BY WORKING WITH THE U.S. TO TAKE STEPS TO IMPROVE CHINA'S HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD. REP. PELOSI THEN TOLD QIAN SHE HAD WITH HER A COPY OF A LETTER CONTAINING NAMES OF POLITICAL PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE IN CHINA. SHE HOPED THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT COULD PROVIDE AN ACCOUNTING OF THESE PRISONERS AS FURTHER EXTENSION.OF MFN WAS CONDITIONAL ON IMPROVING HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE COMING YEAR. REP. PELOSI ALSO HOPED CHINA WOULD FIND A WAY TO ALLOW THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS OR OTHER INTERNATIONALLY-RECOGNIZED HUMANITARIAN GROUPS TO VISIT PRISONERS IN CHINA. SHE BELIEVE THIS WOULD GO A CONFIDENTIAL

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LONG WAY TOWARD RESOLVING HUMAN RIGHTS DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE U.S. AND CHINA. ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTION, THE FOREIGN MINISTER DID NOT REPLY DIRECTLY TO THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS COMMENTS BUT STATED IN GENERAL THAT "DIFFERING CONDITIONS" IN OUR TWO COUNTRIES CREATED DIFFERENT SITUATIONS AND THAT THERE WAS A NEED FOR INCREASED MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND CONFIDENCE.

NONPROLIFERATION

11. REP. GLICKMAN INCLUDED NUCLEAR AND CHEMICAL

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NONPROLIFERATION AS ONE OF THE MAIN ISSUES OF CONCERN IN U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS. HE SAID WE HAD TO MAKE SURE NEITHER THE U.S. NOR CHINA ENGAGED IN THE TRANSFER OF NUCLEAR OR BIOCHEMICAL WEAPONS CAPABILITY OR OF

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R 191028Z AUG 93 FM AMEMBASSY BEIJING TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7969 INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG AMCONSUL SHENYANG AMCONSUL SHANGHAI AMEMBASSY SEOUL AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD AMCONSUL CHENGDU

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MISSILE SYSTEMS, SUCH AS THE REPORTED SALE OF M-11 MISSILES TO PAKISTAN. HE STRESSED THAT IT WAS NOT IN THE INTERESTS OF THE U.S. OR CHINA'S FOR COUNTRIES SUCH AS PAKISTAN, NORTH KOREA OR IRAN TO HAVE NUCLEAR OR BIOCHEMICAL WEAPONS CAPABILITY.

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PAGE 02 BEIJIN 29707 03 OF 04 191031Z 12. IN THE SAME VEIN, REP. PELOSI POINTED OUT THAT CONGRESSIONAL CONCERN OVER THE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS WAS EXACERBATED BY RECENT TERRORIST ACTS AGAINST THE U.S. WHILE CONGRESS WAS IN THE MOOD TO CUT THE BUDGET THESE DAYS, THEY WERE CAUTIOUS ABOUT CUTTING FUNDS RELEVANT TO FIGHTING THIS KIND OF THREAT. THIS INCLUDED CONCERN OVER PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. IN THE CASE OF CHINA'S REPORTED SALES OF M-11 MISSILES TO CHINA, REP. PELOSI STRESSED THE "VERY, VERY GREAT CONCERN" IN CONGRESS OVER THIS ISSUE. SHE TOLD OIAN SOME MEMBERS OF CONGRESS HAD BEEN DISAPPOINTED WE HAD NOT LINKED THE NONPROLIFERATION ISSUE WITH LAST JUNE'S DECISION ON EXTENDING MFN TO CHINA AND HAD NOT MADE IT A CONDITION FOR EXTENDING MFN IN 1994.

- 13. ON THE NORTH KOREAN PROBLEM, REP. DURBIN COMMENTED THAT ON THE ONE HAND, CHINA STATED IT DID NOT INTEND TO INTERFERE WITH NORTH KOREA'S INTERNAL POLICIES. ON THE OTHER HAND, CHINA SAID IT WAS CONCERNED ABOUT NORTH KOREA'S NUCLEAR CAPABILITY AND WORRIED ABOUT NORTH KOREA BECOMING A THREAT TO ASIA AND TO THE WORLD. REP. DURBIN SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT CHINA COOPERATE IN TRYING TO RESOLVE THIS ISSUE.
- 14. OIAN REPLIED THAT CHINA'S POSITION ON NONPROLIFERATION - INCLUDING NUCLEAR AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS AND NORTH KOREAN NUCLEAR CAPABILITY - WAS VERY CLEAR. CHINA DID NOT WANT "MASSIVE" PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS BECAUSE IT WAS NOT IN THE INTERESTS OF WORLD PEACE. TO CHINA, IT WAS CONFIDENTIAL

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BEIJIN 29707 03 OF 04 1910312 "UNTHINKABLE" FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO EXIST ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA. IF EITHER SIDE ACQUIRED NUCLEAR WEAPONS, IT COULD ELIMINATE THE OTHER. THE ISSUE OF KOREAN NUCLEAR CAPABILITY WAS EVEN MORE IMPORTANT TO CHINA THAN TO THE U.S., BECAUSE KOREA BORDERS CHINA AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS COULD POSE A POSSIBLE THREAT. QIAN ADDED THAT ON THE KOREAN ISSUE, CHINA'S OBJECTIVES WERE TWO-FOLD: KEEP THE KOREAN PENINSULA FREE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS; AND MAINTAIN PEACE AND STABILITY THERE. QIAN BELIEVED THAT RECENT U.S.-NORTH KOREA TALKS HAD MADE PROGRESS. THE PROBLEM WAS NOT YET SOLVED, BUT QIAN BELIEVED THERE HAD BEEN A GOOD BEGINNING AND WAS HOPEFUL FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. HE STATED THAT CHINA WOULD NOT PROVIDE ANY NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY TO NORTH KOREA.

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THE "YIN HE" INCIDENT

15. QIAN THEN RAISED THE ON-GOING "YIN HE" INCIDENT THE CHINESE MERCHANT VESSEL THE U.S. SUSPECTS OF
CARRYING CHEMICAL WEAPONS PRECURSORS TO IRAN.
REFLECTING COMMENTS ON THE "YIN HE" BY OTHER CHINESE
OFFICIALS IN MEETINGS WITH CODELS DURING THE PAST
WEEK, QIAN REITERATED CHINA'S POSITION THAT HIS
GOVERNMENT WAS SATISFIED THERE WERE NO CW PRECURSORS
ON BOARD THE SHIP. PURSUING THIS ISSUE FURTHER, QIAN
ASKED REP. GLICKMAN IF THE HOUSE INTELLIGENCE
COMMITTEE APPROVED THE INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS BUDGET
OR MERELY SUPERVISED OPERATIONS. WHEN REP. GLICKMAN
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REPLIED THAT THE COMMITTEE HAD OVERSIGHT
RESPONSIBILITY FOR INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS AND
AUTHORIZED ITS BUDGET, QIAN COMMENTED THAT "OFTEN YOU
HAVE MUCH INACCURATE INFORMATION FROM YOUR
INTELLIGENCE" AND HOPED THE COMMITTEE WOULD ASK ITS
INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES TO "DO A BETTER JOB." HE SAID
THAT CHINA WAS NOT AFRAID OF AN INSPECTION OF THE "YIN
HE" CARGO AND THAT THE RESULTS OF THE INSPECTION WOULD
"PUT THE U.S. IN AN AWKWARD SITUATION."

16. REP. GLICKMAN RESPONDED BY SAYING THAT WHILE HE PERSONALLY DID NOT KNOW WHAT WAS ON THAT SHIP, HE DID KNOW THERE WAS SOME EVIDENCE THAT CHEMICAL WEAPONS PRECURSORS WERE ON BOARD. AN INSPECTION WOULD SATISFY ALL OF US. IF THE U.S. WAS WRONG, IT WOULD DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM IN ACCORDANCE WITH NORMAL DIPLOMATIC PRACTICE. BUT IF THE U.S. INFORMATION WAS CORRECT, WE WOULD HAVE STOPPED THESE CW PRECURSORS FROM GOING TO

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IRAN, WHICH THEY MIGHT HAVE USED. REP. GLICKMAN TOLD QIAN THAT POSSIBILITY "SCARED THE LIVING DAYLIGHTS OUT OF US AND SHOULD SCARE THE LIVING DAYLIGHTS OUT OF CHINA. " REP. GLICKMAN ADDED THET, PRACTICALLY SPEAKING, CHEMICAL WEAPONS WERE MORE LIKELY TO BE USED THESE DAYS AS WEAPONS OF DESTRUCTION THAN NUCLEAR CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 BEIJIN 29707 04 OF 04 191031Z WEAPONS. CITING THE WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING IN NEW YORK CITY, THE CONGRESSMAN TOLD QIAN THIS KIND OF TERRORIST ACT AGAINST THE U.S. WAS PERPETRATED BY SIMILAR ELEMENTS TO THOSE NOW TRYING TO ACQUIRE CHEMICAL WEAPONS. THEREFORE, IT WAS UNDERSTANDABLE THAT THE U.S. "IS A BIT SPOOKED". IN THIS REGARD, HE HOPED THERE WERE NO CHEMICAL WEAPONS ON BOARD THE "YIN HE, " BUT IF THERE WERE AND THEY WERE STOPPED, WE MIGHT HAVE AVERTED A DISASTER.

17. THIS MESSAGE WAS SEEN BY THE CODEL BEFORE TRANSMISSION. ROY

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